LABOUR MONTHLY

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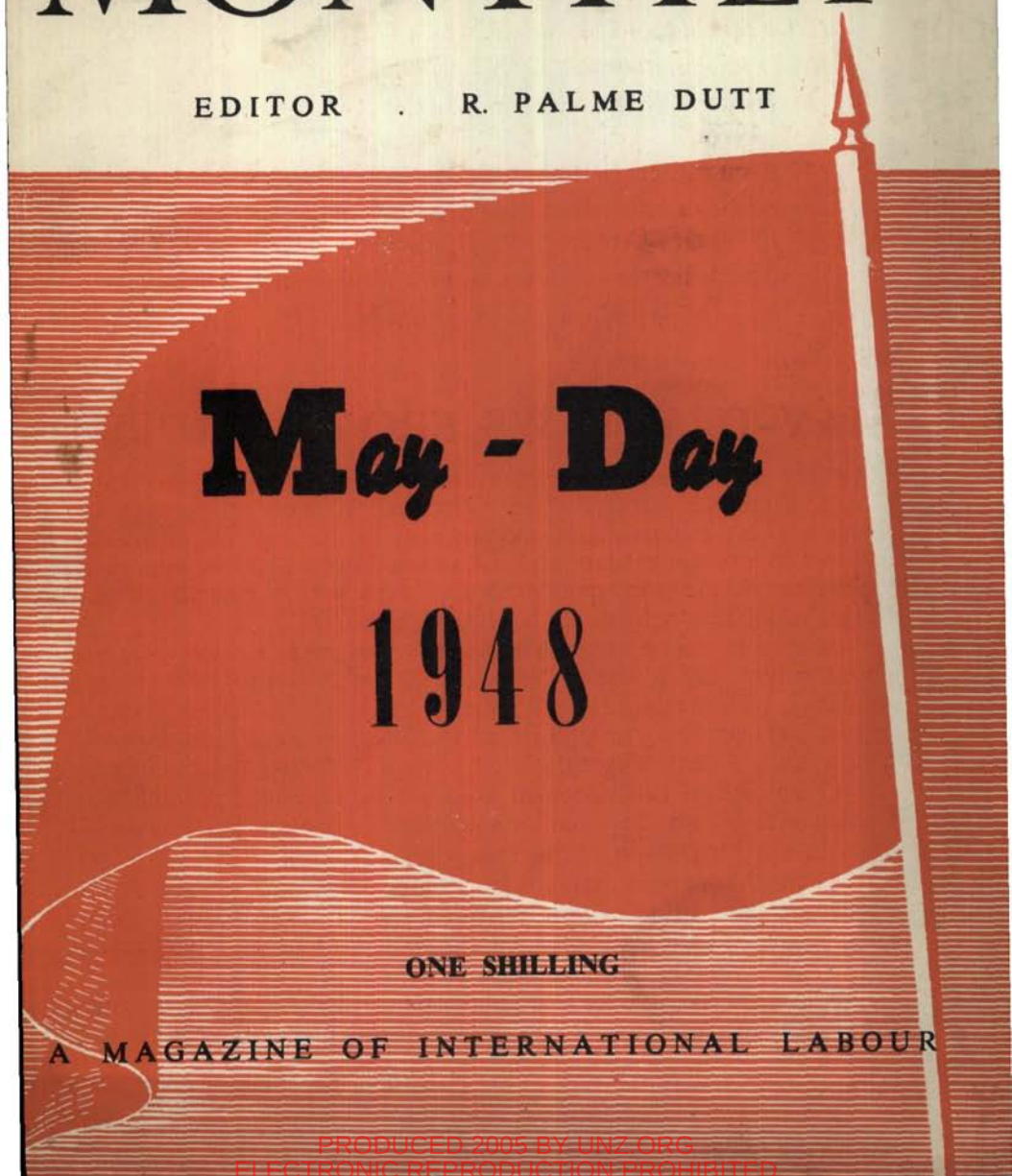

May - Day

1948

ONE SHILLING

A MAGAZINE OF INTERNATIONAL LABOUR

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MAY-DAY NEWS FROM READERS

MAY DAY is the moment for remembering the common interests which bind together the workers of all countries. If there are perhaps too many who let it remain just one moment in the year for them, that is never true of the readers of the LABOUR MONTHLY. No one could look through the correspondence and subscription records of this Magazine of International Labour and fail to grasp that.

Merely to check through the lists of overseas readers who are postal subscribers is like a lesson in geography—and international solidarity. They range from Reykjavik in Iceland to Kuala Lumpur in Malaya; from Sao Paulo in Brazil to Hobart in Tasmania; the Gold Coast, Haiti, China, Ceylon; all the United Nations—and then some.

Often British ex-servicemen take out subscriptions for men and women with whom they made close friends when serving overseas—links in the long chain of international solidarity.

There have been many like stirring examples during April. From Eire came 13s to pay for a subscription for a repatriated German anti-Fascist refugee, prevented by currency restrictions from buying the LABOUR MONTHLY in Germany.

And there was an overwhelming response to the appeal last month for readers to pass on their copies to political prisoners, members of

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May Day and the Fight for Peace

MAY DAY, 1948, is witnessing the most extreme intensity of war clamour and open war moves and preparations since the ending of hostilities less than three years ago. The shadow of the menace of war is now affecting the consciousness of millions, no longer only in the United States, where war fever has already long been stoked up to a high point, but today also in Britain and many other countries. As this shadow darkens, so the anxiety, apprehension and concern of the peoples to maintain peace extends. Parallel to the rise of the war clamour, in the press and on the radio, in parliament and pulpits, rises the manifest desire of the peoples in all countries for peace. Which will prevail? The plans of those who now openly proclaim the aims and strategy of the third world war? Or the desire of the peoples for peace? This is the crucial question of the present world situation. This question dominates all others on this May Day.

One-Sided War Drive

In order to judge the answer to this question, in order to determine the measures necessary to combat the menace of war, it is essential to judge in an objective and realist fashion the special character of the present world situation. For it is a peculiar, new, unprecedented type of world situation. The peculiar character of the present world situation expresses itself in the fact that the present war clamour arises only from one side. It is a one-sided war drive. There is only one war camp. The calls to war, the threats of war, the speculation on a third world war, the vast literature proclaiming the necessity and inevitability of a third world war, the ostentatious strategic moves, the demands for offensive bases, the bellicose speeches proceed entirely from one side, from the press and radio, from Parliament and Congress, from Government Ministers and generals of the United States and Britain and their satellite countries of the Western Bloc and their hangers on. The countries of socialism and popular democracy obstinately continue to demobilise, cut down military expenditure, announce vast new projects of pacific reconstruction, and in all public statements emphatically discount the prospect of war. The American Associated Press correspondent in Moscow, Eddy Gilmore, sought in vain to find for his masters a single fragmentary specimen of war talk in the Soviet Union:

> "Gilmore, who speaks Russian, has been trying for days to find Russians who talk about war, or even its possibility.
>
> "He hasn't been able to discover one, not a single Russian man, woman or child talking war. Not one." (*Daily Express*, April 13).

This contrast expresses the peculiar character of the present world situation. It is a new type of world situation. It reflects a new balance

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of world forces. The understanding of this new type of situation is the key to understanding the character of the present fight for peace. It is a situation basically different from that preceding 1914 or 1939.

Eve of 1914

Before 1914 there were two imperialist power-blocs confronting one another and preparing war—the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente. Imperialism dominated the entire world. Socialism had not yet come to power anywhere in the world. Socialism was regarded disdainfully as an unrealisable dream of the helpless disinherited masses by those in the high places of authority, who pursued their elaborate manœuvring and counter-manœuvring of their rival blocs and preparation of war, regardless of the mighty giant of the future which was arising in their midst. The outbreak of war was the equal responsibility of both imperialist power-blocs. Both were pursuing criminal predatory aims for the spoils of world colonial domination. The task of international socialism and the fight for peace was equally opposed to both imperialist power-blocs. There are still some muddle-heads and Rip Van Winkles who try to see the present situation in terms of the pre-1914 world, in terms of the confrontation of two rival power-blocs, and who have completely failed to understand the enormous changes which have taken place in the world during this one third of a century since 1914.

Eve of 1939

Before 1939 new features had appeared in the world situation, and the character of the drive to war, and of the consequent fight for peace, had completely changed. Imperialism no longer dominated the entire world. Socialism was realised over one-sixth of the world. The imperialist war of 1914-18 had rapidly collapsed in face of the socialist revolution; and the victorious Entente Powers hastened to collaborate with the Kaiser's generals and the remnants of the Kaiser's armies in the wars of intervention against the socialist revolution. The wars of intervention ended in fiasco in Russia, where imperialism was compelled to recognise the new Socialist Power, although they were successful in strangling the revolution and restoring reaction in Central Europe. Henceforth the battle against socialism, and the issue of the counter-revolutionary front against the Soviet Union and the militant working class represented by Communism, cut across and complicated all the rivalries of imperialism. Fascism appeared as the new extreme, desperate weapon of the big monopolists against the working class and democracy. Fascism was able to come to power in Germany and to extend its aggression only by the support, the unlimited material aid and political and diplomatic assistance of the dominant reactionary circles of Western (Anglo-French-American) imperialism. But Fascism was at the same time the weapon of the new resurgent German imperialism, which was able to revive its strength and offensive on the basis of the division of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union and the assistance from Western reaction, at the

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same time as its expansionist plans were directed, not only against the Soviet Union, but also at the expense of the Western empires. Thus the war drive preceding 1939 was the war drive of the aggressive Fascist War Bloc, assisted by the connivance and collaboration of the reactionary ruling circles of Western imperialism—a collaboration conducted in the name of "peace". Hence the task of the fight for peace became to mobilise the united stand of the peoples against the aggressive plans of the Fascist War Bloc and its backers in Western imperialism; and the decisive pivot of such a Peace Front was the establishment of an alliance of the Western Powers and the Soviet Union.

And To-day

Today the situation is once again profoundly changed. Analogies with the years preceding 1939 (despite the obvious succession of Truman-Marshall-Churchill-Bevin to the general lines of the Axis and Anti-Comintern Pact and repetition of the same propaganda formulas) can be extremely misleading. The single War Bloc today comprises all imperialism. This is a completely new situation. This new situation reflects the advancing strength since the second world war of socialism and popular democracy, so that the Soviet Union no longer stands alone, and at least one quarter of the world is now removed from the range of imperialism. It further reflects the extreme inequality of development within the diminished imperialist world, such that the United States is overwhelmingly dominant, economically, financially and in naval and air power, and is consequently able to dictate its will without war to its weakened rivals. Thus the imperialist rivalries, which are still intense, especially the Anglo-American, also the Anglo-French, and potentially the German and Japanese resurrection aims, develop within the single imperialist camp under the general control and overlordship of American imperialism. Whereas before 1914 imperialist antagonisms completely dominated the world, and the issue of socialism was seen only as an internal domestic issue; and before 1939 the issue of imperialism and socialism complicated the imperialist antagonisms, giving rise to the complex diplomatic situation leading to the second world war; today the confrontation of imperialist counter-revolution opposed to and threatening war against socialism, the working class movement, popular democracy and national liberation everywhere, dominates the world situation and subordinates the inter-imperialist antagonisms. This finds expression in the organisation of the single imperialist war camp under American domination, which in fact contains and serves the aims of American world expansion and dominion directed against all countries, but which directs its visible fighting edge and war propaganda entirely against the Soviet Union, Communism, the People's Democracies and popular emancipation all over the world. This is the new world situation which governs the character of the present fight for peace.

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One War Camp

There is only one war camp. This is the central fact of the present world situation which requires to be grasped, in place of the misleading fallacious propagandist picture of two "power-blocs" manœuvring against one another, around a "Soviet-American antagonism", between which it is the task of lovers of peace to "mediate". There is only one camp which is building up its armed forces and military expenditure above pre-war (United States, fourteen times above pre-war; Britain, three times above pre-war; as against the Soviet Union, down to pre-war). There is only one camp which is engaged in armed intervention and aggression, dispatch of military occupying forces, armaments and military subsidies, in countries all over the world, entirely apart from the occupation of ex-enemy territories. There is only one camp which is maintaining and extending armed bases all over the world, thousands of miles from home shores, and thus remote from any pretext of defensive purposes. There is only one camp which insists on its right to pile up atom bombs and other criminal weapons of war, subject to the illusory alternative of replacing the United Nations by an organ of unlimited world dictatorship under its control. There is only one camp which openly threatens, in official no less than in unofficial utterances, the use of the atom bomb and a third world war to enforce the victory of its aims over the world. This is the actual character of the present war danger, which determines the task of the fight for peace in the present world situation.

Intensified War Drive

This war drive, which was launched immediately after the close of the second world war, which found political expression in Churchill's Fulton speech of 1946, and official formulation in the Truman Doctrine of 1947, has been enormously intensified in the opening months of 1948. During these last few weeks the Western Military Pact has been signed at Brussels on March 17—for the clauses of "economic" and "political" co-operation are in fact entirely empty and vague, and the only concrete clauses are military—binding together Britain, France, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg in a close military alliance under American control and supervision; and this was immediately followed by the strategic tour of Marshal Montgomery, unofficially designated as the proposed Western Commander-in-Chief. The Marshall Plan enactment was signed on April 3; and its strategic significance was at once demonstrated when the "Marshall countries" proceeded to meet in Paris and set up a Permanent Joint Military Committee with headquarters in London. President Truman, on the same day as the Brussels Pact, called for conscription in the United States and for large increases in the armed forces; and Congress has been engaged in voting additional military and air appropriations of billions of dollars above the already high figure.

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Anglo-American Bloc and India

It is a further characteristic of this war drive that it is simultaneously military and political. While diplomatic tension has been heightened over Berlin and the plans for the partition of Germany, and the open repudiation of the peace treaties on Trieste, political pressure has been notoriously exercised in the campaign of intimidation over the Italian elections. The anti-communist drive, which has found expression in the civil service ban in Britain, has found further expression in India and Burma, in the wholesale arrests of hundreds of Communist and trade union leaders in India, the banning of the Communist Party in West Bengal, suppression of newspapers and imposition of conditions of illegality in many other parts of India. The official reasons given for this offensive, professing to find in ordinary economic strikes against intolerable wage conditions a conspiracy to challenge the foundations of democracy, or alleging preparations for armed insurrection without any attempt to present concrete evidence, follow only too closely the familiar language of the State Department and its satellites in all countries. The offensive cannot be regarded as other than a dangerous political indication of the present tendencies of the very weak Indian Government and of the propertied interests it represents, shown equally in the retreat from nationalisation, the closer economic link up with British and American big capital interests, the military preparations and retention of a British Commander-in-Chief, the restoration of "God Save the King" to precede the Indian national anthem, and many accompanying signs of closer orientation to the Anglo-American Bloc. Indeed, the United States Ambassador to India has already proposed, in a speech on March 23, Indian incorporation in a "Marshall Plan for Asia". The fight against this offensive of repression in India is not only vital for the future of working class and democratic development within India, but is of primary international importance.

Beating The War Drums

Before the wars of 1914 and 1939 it was customary for the politicians and diplomats of imperialism to cover their war preparations with a thick fog of peace talk. They prepared war and talked peace. The nearer the war, the higher the peace talk rose. Only Fascism began to break this custom. But now all the statesmen and generals and publicists of Western imperialism openly talk war, preach war incessantly, exhort the public to rally to the Holy War for Western Spiritual Civilisation, Liberal professors sign manifestos declaring "Rather a Third World War than Communism", and the Church Assembly blesses the Atom Bomb. This is a further new feature of the present world situation, showing the basic difference from before 1914 and before 1939. It would be rash to conclude since these gentlemen, when they talk peace, have always meant war, that, when they now talk war so noisily, it can therefore be taken for granted that they

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mean peace. The incitement to war, the deliberate attempt to create war hysteria, is too serious. The war note was struck already with the Attlee broadcast at the New Year. It was carried forward by President Truman in his Address to Congress on March 17, when he emphatically named the Soviet Union as the enemy, in language never touched by the wildest tirades of Hitler before the war, and which would have in the days before the New American Atom Bomb Diplomacy been considered unthinkable from the lips of the Head of a State to be addressed to another State with which nominally peaceful relations were being maintained.

" Offensive Bases "

But President Truman's tirade was carried even further forward by his Cabinet colleagues. While Secretary for Defence Forrestal proclaimed on March 26 that " today another great despotic Power threatens to extinguish freedom in Europe " (how visibly they regret today that they fought on what they have now come to regard as the wrong side in the last war, and hope to expiate their error), Secretary for War Kenneth Royall was even more explicit in his speech to a Senate Committee on March 25 in explaining the kind of " offensive bases " America desires to establish in Europe:

> " No part of the Central Eurasian land mass could be effectively reached by strategic bombing from bases on or near the North American Continent or in the Philippines. It follows that offensive bases with the consent of the nations involved must be on the mainland of the overseas land mass much nearer to the enemy than our own country."

Secretary for Air Symington boasted that U.S. planes based on Alaska or Labrador (thank you, Britain) could " bomb any part of Russia". The President's Air Policy Commission Report set the main aim to make the air force capable of delivering a " sustained assault at long range on the industrial centres of the Soviet Union". And Walter Lippmann, trusted voice of American High Finance, wrote with his customary lucidity in the *Herald-Tribune* of March 25:

> " Japan is a position from which Soviet Siberia, Manchuria, Korea and North China can be dominated at relatively modest investment of strategic air power."

The gospel of *Mein Kampf* becomes milk-and-water compared to these megalomaniac dreams.

British Warmongers

Nor should it be imagined that these bloodthirsty utterances come only from the official spokesmen of American imperialism, and that Britain is only a helpless innocent victim. The British people are undoubtedly victims of these war plans, and are likely to be the victims who would suffer most if these plans ever came to fruition, but the British High-Ups (who no doubt count on a heroic no-surrender expatriation to Washington or Ottawa when the trouble starts) are very much part of the game. Thus Sir Alexander Cadogan, choice

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architect of Munich and chosen spokesman of a Labour Government to the United Nations, declared before the Security Council on March 23, with regard to what he called "Russian expansion in Europe" (meaning the advance of Communism in Europe):

> "There are limits beyond which the tide must not advance and must be dammed back. Almost every one in the world must hope fervently that it can be done by peaceful means, but there is an undeniable risk that that hope may not be fulfilled."

And General Sir Brian Robertson, in his stirring harangue to a German audience, still mostly recent followers of Nazism, to exhort them to prepare for unity with the West in the war against the Soviet Union and Communism, proclaimed at Dusseldorf on April 7:

> "War or Peace? I cannot look into the mists of the future . . . Make up your minds to stand together against these gentlemen who with democracy on their lips and truncheons behind their backs would filch your German freedom from you. The prospects are good. Go forward and seize them."

This is not Hitler in June, 1941, but the British Commander-in-Chief in Germany in April, 1948.

Fury and Frenzy

Why this extreme stoking up of war propaganda and speeding of intensive war preparations at the present moment? Does it necessarily mean that war is contemplated by these gentlemen as close on the order of agenda, and that all is set for pressing the button at a fixed strategic date? Or does it rather indicate, not so much yet a clearly elaborated and finally agreed strategic plan, but the mounting fury and frenzy and reckless desperation of the warmongers and champions of reaction as they see their plans miscarry in face of the advance of the peoples? Twelve months have passed since the Truman Doctrine. During these twelve months the aggressive aims of the Anglo-American Bloc have met with a series of setbacks. In China the Democratic Armies are sweeping forward to victory, and the Chiang regime, choking with dollars and corruption, is foundering. In Greece the Democratic Armies hold seven-tenths of the country, and all the intervention of British troops and American Military Missions, arms and planes are proving as unsuccessful in maintaining the rotten monarchist-fascist traitors as Hitler proved in the same fight a few years back. In Czechoslovakia, where, after the complete failure in Poland, the Western conspirators had concentrated all their hopes of penetration, reaction has been smashed and democracy has triumphed. Only in Western Europe has a partial success been won with the imposition of the Marshall Plan; but Western Europe, with the mounting opposition of the working class, is a precarious base for America to conduct a war against the world. Hence the rising war fury is a sign, not so much of the strength and confidence, as of the weakness and frustration of the imperialist war camp.

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Rearmament and Economic Crisis

There is another factor to be taken into consideration. The shadow of impending crisis over American economy, with the still rocketing rise of prices and profits and fall of real wages and purchasing power, has been emphasised once again in President Truman's warning speech of April 17. It has been estimated by a Soviet economist, on the basis of American official figures, that since the end of the war real wages in the United States have fallen by 28 per cent., profits have risen by 65 per cent., and the total unemployment, real and concealed (including short time working), is equivalent to 7.2 million wholly unemployed. The first sign of price recession in the summer of 1947 was immediately followed by the announcement of the Marshall Plan. The second wave of price recession in the beginning of this year speeded the adoption of the Marshall Plan. But the Marshall Plan could not absorb more than a fraction of the available surplus in the event of even a slight American depression; a drop of 15 per cent. from the level of 1947 production would be equivalent to 35 billion dollars, whereas the Marshall Plan would absorb only 5.3 billion dollars in the first year. Hence there are very powerful economic motives for the big industrial combines, which made gigantic profits out of the war, to force up the pace of rearmament at the present moment, encourage the adoption of vast new armament construction projects, advocate the supply of armaments to Western Europe, Greece, Turkey and China, and for this purpose work up an endless succession of war scares, sensations and crises. This element also must not be left out of account in judging the present spate of war talk.

The Danger of War is Real

Does this mean that the danger of war can be discounted as only the scare propaganda of armaments profiteers, bankrupt politicians and sensation-mongering press proprietors, or only the impotent fury of frustrated reactionaries lusting after the will o' the wisp of the atom-bomb destruction of Communism? No. The danger of war is real, although the weaknesses, dilemmas and contradictions of the imperialist war camp give solid grounds for confidence in the capacity of the popular forces to defeat it. We must reject absolutely the theories of the inevitability of a third world war, which are not only frequent in mass opinion, owing to the endless repetition of press propaganda, but also affect those weaker and unstable sections of left wing opinion which always only see the strength of imperialism and therefore always fall into the rut of passivity and defeatism. It is an essential factor of the new and basically different world situation today, in contrast to that before 1914 and before 1939, that imperialism is weaker and the popular forces are enormously stronger, not only than before 1914, but also than before 1939. But we must reject equally those theories which deny the seriousness of the war

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danger, and therefore in practice fall equally into passivity before the war danger.

The Fight for Peace

The present situation of sharp diplomatic tension, extending aggressive intervention by the Anglo-American Bloc in all parts of the world, and ostentatious piling up of armaments and bellicose threats by the champions of " Western " (i.e. capitalist) civilisation, does not automatically give rise to war. It may even have to give place to a climb-down in face of the strength and firmness of the Soviet Union and the Eastern European democracies and the advance of the popular forces. But it does contain the manifest danger of war. War may arise, either through an incident leading to an explosion or a localised war extending, or through the "quick war" "fight now" party gaining the upper hand in the United States as against the present dominant "cold war" policy of the State Department, or again through the development of economic crisis leading to desperate and reckless policies. Hence it is essential for the fight for peace to be mobilised now with all urgency against the danger of war.

What Stalin Said

It is sometimes argued that, because Stalin in his famous declarations in the second half of 1946, in his interviews with Werth and Elliott Roosevelt, discounted the danger at that time of war in the immediate future, therefore it would be a mistake to stress now the seriousness of the danger of war, and that to emphasise now the urgency of mobilising the fight for peace against the war danger would be equivalent to playing into the hands of the warmongers and contributing to the atmosphere of war hysteria they seek to create. But this is to misunderstand what Stalin said. Stalin in 1946 discounted the danger of war, not on the grounds that the imperialists would not wish to make war, but on the grounds that " the peoples are unwilling to fight; they are tired of war". The decisive factor is thus the role of the peoples themselves. That was in 1946, still within a few months of the end of hostilities. Since then, in March, 1947, came the new aggression of the Truman Doctrine, and now has come the further heightened situation of 1948. By September, 1947, Tito declared:

> " We must work as if peace were to last eternally, but we must prepare as if war were to break out tomorrow.
>
> " The danger of a new war may appear if we are not vigilant."

And Zdhanov, in his Report to the Nine Parties Conference in September, 1947, very sharply brought out the condition of success in defeating the war danger:

> " It is necessary to bear in mind that between the desire of the imperialists to unleash a new war and the possibilities of organising such a war there is an enormous gap.
>
> " The peoples of the world do not want war. The forces that work for peace are so considerable, so large, that, if these forces are steadfast

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and resolute in the defence of peace, if they display stamina and firmness, the plans of the aggressors will be completely defeated."

The condition of success in defeating the plans for a new world war is the present mobilisation of the united popular fight for peace.

The " War of Nerves "

It is true that there is an element of a " war of nerves " in the present intensified war clamour and ostentatious display of war preparations and strategic moves. American imperialism above all seeks by an imposing parade of superior strength—with the real inner weaknesses well hidden—to terrify the peoples into submission, without the cost of direct war which would expose its real weakness. This is the essence of the policy of so-called " cold war". The bankrupt imperialist rulers seek to impose endless economic sacrifices and burdens upon the people in the name of war. They seek to cover up their own domestic failures of policy, and the glaring contrast between the economic collapse of Western Europe and the advance of reconstruction in Eastern Europe. They seek to inflame agitation against the Soviet Union and Communism, and to intimidate the peoples who are moving to the left. Above all they hope by a combination of diplomatic insolence and loudly advertised armaments and strategic preparations, by which they hope to establish themselves as "tough", to impress the Governments and peoples of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies and extort concessions. It is obvious that in the face of such blackmailing tactics it is the responsibility of statesmanship in Eastern Europe to demonstrate conspicuously that their nerves are calm and unruffled, and to expose the threats of war. But this does not mean that in Western Europe and America, in the centres of this infamous campaign, we could pride ourselves on appearing unconcerned. On the contrary, here it is necessary to raise to the highest level the fight against this criminal war policy.

The Fight for Peace in Britain

Thus the centre of the fight for peace must be above all in the United States and here in Britain. In the United States the campaign around the presidential candidature of Henry Wallace has already built up a powerful mobilisation for peace, whose strength has disconcerted all the orthodox political prophets. In Britain, under different political conditions, it is essential to develop in appropriate forms a no less broad campaign for peace. The *Daily Worker* National Conference for Peace to be held in July is a welcome initiative to contribute to the development of such a campaign. There is room for many other initiatives and many other forms, reaching out to all sections of the people, and swelling the broad stream of the movement for peace. Such a campaign, developing from the universal aspiration for peace and desire to prevent a third world war, must necessarily fulfil a task of political awakening. It is essential to show from where the danger of war arises and what kind of war threatens. It is esssen-

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tial to show the way in which Britain is being involved in the war bloc, and the cost of this policy for Britain, both in present burdens on the people, and in the prospect of any future war. The fight for peace is bound up with a change of political and economic policy. It is necessary by patient explanation to overcome the illusions that the problem is to "reconcile" two opposing "power-blocs", and that "if only Truman, Attlee and Stalin could meet", all would be well. So long as Truman and Attlee pursue the same aggressive policies, repudiation of treaties previously agreed, and determination to partition Europe and rebuild German and Japanese reaction, it would be futile to reproduce the deadlocks of the Foreign Ministers' Conference. It is first necessary to end the present aggressive policies and war drive in the United States and Britain, and return to the path of international democratic co-operation. This requires inevitably a political fight. The fight for peace in Britain is in the final analysis a fight to reverse the present war policies of association with American reaction, and to range Britain decisively with the peace forces of the world. This is the contribution we can make from Britain, which not only corresponds to the vital interests of the British people, but can also shift the balance of world forces and thereby in fact ensure the defeat of the war plans and the victory of peace.

April 19, 1948. R. P. D.

"GROUND NUTS TO YOU!"

By IVOR MONTAGU

IN the middle of March last the South African Reserve Bank and the South African Treasury announced regulations designed to control the heavy influx of capital from Britain into South Africa.

£75,000,000 is the amount of leakage estimated in this direction since the end of the war. But Dr. de Kock, Governor of the Reserve Bank, estimates it higher: a total influx at the rate of £80,000,000 in 1947, rising in the early part of 1948 to a rate of £10,000,000 per month. Cause? Dr. de Kock calls it "hints about dividend limitation" in the homeland. I prefer a more poetic phrase "the characteristic patriotism of the rich".

Is it comfort for the population of these islands to know that these limiting regulations are *not* imposed by the Home Government—alongside their petrol economies, foreign travel restrictions, hamstringing of capital development and other measures designed to safeguard the economy of the old country—but by the South African Government, which has found the very rapidity of the inflow productive of unsettling associated effects (e.g. doubling of property values, doubling of cost of living)? Is it comfort to know that cart and horses can be driven still through the new controls by any funk-hungry capitalist (e.g. by purchase of gold shares quoted both here and on the South African markets, and resale in South Africa)?

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No, it is not comfortable. Cherub Cripps sitting up aloft caring so carefully about our balances inways and outs does not seem to care about this one. Why? Because Africa is a funk-hole for more than frightened individual speculators. It represents the latest, and maybe the last, fling of the capitalist system (British corner) itself.

More than individuals seeking higher profits and security from dividend limitation are here involved. Much more.

Everybody says so. Everybody that is who is concerned to rescue the capitalist system.

Let us first hear Mosley. On November 28 last, in his first press statement after crawling out from beneath his stone, Sir Oswald said: "Our first aim is to bring about a union of the European peoples, all those in the West willing to join—Europe and the British Dominions will be asked to join in developing Africa."

Explicit enough. It took the Labour Government exactly eight weeks to admit that the policy they were carrying out was that outlined for them by the leader of British fascism. On January 22nd, Mr. Bevin:

> "In the first place, we turn our eyes to Africa, where great responsibilities are shared by us with South Africa, France, Belgium and Portugal, and equally to all overseas territories, especially of South-East Asia, with which the Dutch are closely concerned. The organisation of Western Europe must be economically supported. That involves the closest possible collaboration with the Commonwealth and with overseas territories, not only British, but French, Dutch, Belgian and Portuguese . . . If Western Europe is to achieve its balance of payments and to get a world equilibrium, it is essential that those resources should be developed and made available and the exchange between them carried out in a correct and proper manner."

A little more long-winded but essentially the same.

And on this question you will find no difference between Blackshirt and Tory, between Transport House and Fabian; Mosley, Stanley, Bevin and Creech-Jones all sing in harmony.

The programme is plain enough, Unite Europe (Western)—to save Civilisation, Christianity, Occidental freedoms (and all the other cherished achievements of humanity currently degraded into trademarks to cover American business men, S.S. spy-gangs, and Turkish bribe-takers). To save "United Europe"—intensify the exploitation of the colonies, and in the first place Africa.

Lenin would hardly have been surprised that the "first place" in the schemes of the Unite-Europers is being given to Africa. In 1915 he wrote: "A United States of Europe under capitalism is equivalent to an agreement to divide up the colonies." And, asking what an agreement for such a United States of Europe would be for, he replied: "Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty . . ." And after all, if you take a look at 1948 colonial geography, if you tour swiftly over the areas available for colonial or semi-colonial exploitation on the world's map when Lenin wrote in 1915—South America, increasingly monopolised by U.S.A., Asia, the seat of turbulent struggle for

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national liberation, U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, moved out of the exploitation circle altogether—then it is hardly surprising that the U.S.E. (reduced perforce to the U.S. of Western E.) should concentrate on rearranging economic and political relationships in Africa.

What is the British idea of this rearrangement? It is going ahead in two fields rapidly: the first, military, the second, the extraction of resources. Africa is to be made into a strategic base, and a self-sufficient one. The Mediterranean was dicky enough during the last war; whether it will be defensible as a sea route in the next is a speculation, and besides, with the Americans there, British forces have scarcely elbow-room. So—a network of military airfields in the West Coast; huge road construction work suitable for military movement; a base with millions of pounds worth of stores not far from Mombasa; re-organisation of British African military forces and formation of an East African Naval Force—a ten year programme of military expenditure in Kenya alone of up to £30 millions annually; development of war industries in South Africa and the Rhodesias.

Already from British Africa come 10.8% of world production of tin, 9.2% of platinum, 21.6% of manganese, 31.6% of chromium, 91.9% of tungsten. What else is there? Maize, tea, coffee, cocoa, cotton, tobacco, sisal, rubber, timber, hides, gold, iron ore, coal, lead, copper, diamonds; water power equal to the total of the rest of the world. French territories are more extensive than British. Portuguese waiting for "development". Who exactly in Belgium is getting how much for exporting Belgian Congo uranium to America nobody knows. That the Congolese are not getting anything, everybody knows.

Here's the rub. Lenin speaking of an U.S.E. based on agreement to divide up the colonies observed:

> "Under capitalism, however, no other basis, no other principle of division, is possible except force. A billionaire cannot share the 'national income' of a capitalist country with anyone except in proportion to the capital invested (with an extra bonus thrown in, so that the largest capital may receive more than its due)".

Bevin can talk about the balance between the colonial countries' resources being "worked out in a correct and proper manner". He can talk about there being "no need of conflict" with both U.S. and U.S.S.R. (the cant formula, just as Attlee talks about slapping down *both* "fascists and Communists") "in this matter at all". He can hope till all's blue that "other countries with dependent territories" will develop same "in association with us". He can organise conferences of Governors for regional rationalisation, and conferences of Western-Europe-bloc imperial powers in Paris, for *temporary* agreements, but meanwhile the "benefactor" from across the herring-pond is horning in just as fast and deep as he can.

He has his hands on the Congo. He plays off Spanish and Portuguese expansionist circles against the British and blows hot and cold on the South African desire to seize South-West Africa, according to the balance of the game in other parts of the world.

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Liberia is his puppet. The entire economic control of the country is handed over by a new agreement to a Board of 16 American business men, including Stettinus and Grew, United States Steel, General Electric, and 5 Liberians. Obviously, as the *Crown Colonist* remarks, " these Americans, through their dominating influence in the Liberia Company, will possess power to shape policy in the Republic without having to accept corresponding responsibilities". Equally obviously, any Liberian who wishes to recover the power to shape policy for responsible Liberians is the agent of a Bolshevik plot. (And no friend of Mr. Marshall). Among the capital pouring into South Africa is plenty from America. Investment trusts (including the American Anglo-Transvaal Investment Corporation, the South African Mines Selection Ltd., the Anglo-American Corporation and a host of others, with capital and investments running to hundreds of millions) are the means by which our Transatlantic cousin inserts a finger into the following pies: engineering, foodstuffs, mines, explosives, diamonds, gold, coal (and these throughout all parts of the Union). Even Mr. Strachey's ground-nuts scheme needs U.S. capital goods and credits. How nice to hear the Harriman Committee proposal that stockpiles of short supply materials should be allocated to American industry from the countries receiving Marshall " aid ". (Echo, reverberating in the twentieth century and translated into Yankee of these words of Lenin's ". . . no other basis, no other principle of division, is possible except force." Alas).

What is to be the effect on the African of all this interest and investment encompassing his homeland, in the cause of staving off collapse of Western Europe? Will it rob him? Here the accents of reply lose their unanimity and begin to vary in accordance with the attitude being struck by the spokesman and the identity of the audience addressed. Why not? is Mosley's answer; in his plan there shall be no nonsense about " trusteeship for the natives". Not at all, says Bevin. " There is no conflict between the social and economic development of these overseas territories to the advantage of their people and their development as a source of supplies for Western Europe, as a contributor, as I have indicated, so essential to the balance of payments . . . Coincident with that planning, welfare and cultural development are being pushed ahead with great speed."

I do not intend to rehearse here the monstrous present plight of the people of Britain's African colonies. Nigeria—an advanced one—shows 1 doctor and 0.3 hospital beds for every 100,000 of the population. 1/- per head per annum budgeted for education and the same for health. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1945 provides £120 millions from the Home Government to improve such services, and as contribution toward development schemes—an amount of about £2 per head of the Colonial population spread over several years. In 1946-7 three bob a head was actually paid out. So do not let us minimise the difference between Mosley's repudiation of trusteeship and Mr. Bevin's principles. It is at least a few shillings per head per year.

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"Neither exactly Socialist nor exactly Capitalist" but "that characteristically British institution, the public corporation"—Mr. Strachey thus designated his Ground Nuts scheme—"a curious and interesting mixture of the methods and motives of private enterprise and Government enterprise and finance". Curious and interesting indeed! For the motive of private profit private interest extorts the maximum boodle by every method that it can, and meanwhile Government removes the risks from this particular enterprise by providing the finance from public funds.

It will be time enough to talk blushless about mutual benefit when "Europe" becomes a contributor, instead of (in Mr. Bevin's words) receiving the contribution essential to its balance, and starts pouring in more than a fraction of what private enterprise extracts.

Curious—the benefits for Africa of this association, while apparent enough to our Social Democratic statesmen to be perpetually reiterated when addressing audiences far from Africa, are apparently less easy to explain to the Africans themselves.

At any rate, no development plan yet blueprinted, far as its thought may reach, yet provides for the African at any date, or in any degree, being allowed the say-so in whether he likes these plans and considers the best use is being made of his patrimony. The absolute dictatorial power of the Governor remains in every African colony. Everywhere the franchise is limited, everywhere African representatives if elected are in a minority or without real authority. In South Africa and Southern Rhodesia Africans have no share in Government. And—extraordinary thing—one knows of course that the Europeans are not guided by selfishness, think only of the best for the most and have as deep a sense of trusteeship as Mr. Bevin himself—but, curious, isn't it—everywhere these European Governors and governments seems to have come to the same conclusion, namely, that the best interests of the Africans as objects-in-trust demand that their trustees should enjoy the best land, the best jobs, the best education and medical services and, by comparison, a heaven-high standard of living.

Alas. We have already had occasion to observe "Alas!" over the fact that, even in Africa, where it has such a good start, British imperialist exploitation cannot escape from the embraces of Britain's cousin. Neither can it escape from its own consequences. Shylock remarked that if you prick a man, even if he be a Jew, he bleeds. If you oppress a man, even if he be an African, he will react. Not to say revolt. At least nowadays. You can't steal all the wealth of Africa to balance your own difficulties and give the African self-government. He'll stop you. You can't squeeze maximum profit out of him and let him have trade unions. He'll have something to say.

Shortly after the defeat of Germany I heard Ellen Wilkinson explaining to a class of ex (?) Hitler Youth in the British sector of Berlin that the essential feature of democracy was that you might not deprive a person of liberty without trial. Only a month ago Sir

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Gerald Creasy, the Governor of the Gold Coast, was explaining his orders for the detention of six African personages as " in no sense a punishment or a reprisal, they are purely a preventive measure imposed in the interests of the peace-loving, progressive democratic elements."

(As opposed, no doubt, to the interests of those who would rather have a job and something to eat). How Goebbels' shade must guffaw. Only today a new set of disorders are reported, this time in the Sudan. The malcontents are demanding the release of an African trade union organiser sentenced to imprisonment "for disturbing the peace of Atbara by instigating railway workers to strike for higher wages."* The trouble is, says one writer, that Africans have seen the world of late years, they are no longer content with their old conditions. The trouble is, says a second, that officials had a rise in wages to meet the cost of living; Africans wanted the same. " The Government", writes a third (in the *Sunday Express*), "must shoulder responsibility because of its misguided encouragement of trade unions. To Africans, trade unions are simply an incomprehensible weapon placed in their hands to get something they never even dreamed of before." And a fourth (in *The Times*), describing the participation by a group of schoolboys in the hunger-march demonstration started by the Gold Coast ex-servicemen: " In fact, the whole 300 of them were becoming more and more like a pack of savage beasts. The thin veneer of our civilisation was cracking and showing some far from pleasant things underneath . . . They began to move up the road in a large phalanx chanting fierce battle-cries and singing—would you believe it?—Kipling's ' Land of our Birth'! "

No wonder Rita Hinden in the Fabian Quarterly for this Spring has a difficulty in reconciling the pre-election professions of Ministers on the Colonies with the performances they tolerate. She concludes that it is necessary " to distinguish sharply between *principles* and *programmes* . . . there is nothing sacrosanct about any programme as such. What *is* sacrosanct are the principles. When we are accused of betraying *principles*, our critics really mean that we are justifying *deviations from the programme*." Despite the lady's heroic wrestle with her conscience—there has been nothing like it since Jacob and the angel—the new programme won't work. It won't do to preach establishment of 'Western Union for democracy and freedom' and base it on a programme that necessarily involves their denial to Africa. Others besides Rita have consciences, and perhaps some will not be so tractably subdued. The further you go in declaring benefits the right and prerogative of a superior race, the further you go towards Hitler, and the more decent people will raise their arms to chastise you. Messieurs fugitives have not found a far-away-enough funk-hole. The more you "develop" Africa, the more the Africans will hear of trade unions—and patriotism—even via Kipling. And let you hear of them.

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*Would Isaacs and Tewson have liked to jug the 2,000,000 who voted against their White Paper confidence trick? How far is Atbara from the Central Hall?

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GUNS OR BUTTER

By J. R. CAMPBELL

IN his opening speech on the Budget, Sir Stafford Cripps related the fiscal measures which he proposed to the general economic situation and to the Government's wages, prices, profits and planning policy. From the point of view of presentation, this is an improvement on the method of Mr. Dalton, though from the point of view of the class content of the Budget, there is no change.

The significant fact about the general situation is that in 1947 the British economic system was not self supporting, but had to draw on foreign loans and on its gold reserves in order to provide people with the level of consumption which they enjoyed (if that is the word) that year, and to maintain a high rate of capital development. The amount drawn upon reached the enormous total of £675 million per annum.

Consumption of necessities was lower than before the war.

The White Paper on National Income and Expenditure revalues British expenditure in 1947 in terms of 1938 prices and shows that British consumers bought two per cent. more (in volume) of consumers' goods and services than they did in 1938.

As the population has grown by 4 per cent., however, this means that the expenditure per head on consumers' goods and services has declined. When account is taken of deterioration in the quality of the goods, the fall in consumption is even more pronounced.

Thus the White Paper shows that (in 1938 prices) the expenditure on food was 102 per cent. of pre-war. It was, however, for food of lower nutritional value. The Economic Survey for 1948 pointed out that the pre-war average consumption of calories was 3,000 per day, whereas in 1947 it was only 2,880.

Further there was a decided fall in the amount of consumers' goods, other than food, which were purchasable in 1947. The British consumer was only able to buy 84 per cent. of the clothing, 77 per cent. of the durable household goods and 84 per cent. of other household goods as compared with 1938. On the other hand more was spent on entertainment and travel, presumably because these were not on points.

With regard to capital equipment, the White Paper printed a slightly less dreary picture. The proportion of Britain's gross national product devoted to gross capital formation was 14 per cent. in 1938 and no less than 20 per cent. in 1947. (It will come down to 18 per cent. in 1948 owing to the capital cuts). That was a pretty high proportion compared with any year before the war. Alas the White Paper takes the gilt off the gingerbread by pointing out that if the Government had not drawn on foreign loans and gold reserves it would have been impossible to have undertaken more than a gross capital formation equal to 13 per cent. of the gross national product.

So what British economy was able to do by its own efforts in 1947

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was to undertake a rate of capital development, at the same poor level as 1938, and to provide the consumers with a much poorer selection of consumers' goods, and services.

Further, prices of consumers' goods had risen during the year. The White Paper on Expenditure for the first time in many years published a price index which showed that prices were 68 per cent. over 1938. From the data published in previous White Papers the *Economist* has calculated price indices which give the following results: 1938=100, 1944=150, 1945=153, 1946=157, and 1948=168—a rise of 15 points in the last two years.

So the problems facing Sir Stafford as the political chief in charge of planning as well as Chancellor of the Exchequer were to cut out unnecessary expenditure, to return the maximum number of people from the forces to industry and to do everything possible to prevent a rise in prices. No attempt was made to do any of these things.

A country which is not able by its own exertions to do more than reach the low pre-war level of capital development and is not able to provide the people with the pre-war quantity and quality of consumers' goods is nevertheless being forced by the Government to spend £693 million per annum on defence. This means slightly under a million men in the armed forces now, plus a further 600,000 in the Defence Departments or in manufacturing for the forces. No attempt was made by Sir Stafford to justify this waste in the present desperate situation of the country. True the Economic Survey contemplates that the armed forces will be cut by a further quarter of a million in the course of the year. Why not now?

Nor was any attempt made to justify the drain of overseas military expenditure on the balance of payments. The Economic Survey estimates that the overall deficit on the balance of payments for 1948 will be £250 million if the export drive achieves its full objectives. At the moment the gross overseas military expenditure is running at the rate of £152 million per year. Even if it falls somewhat in the latter half of the year, it will still account for over one-half of the deficit in the overall balance of payments.

Sir Stafford bewailed the exhaustion of Britain's reserves and argued that we cannot possibly do without Marshall Aid. Yet the Government spent on gross overseas military expenditure £382 million in 1946, £211 in 1947, and is spending at the rate of £152 million at this moment. Had this expenditure been halved, as it could have been, Britain would have saved more than the value of the total Marshall Aid which it will receive for the first fifteen months.

If I were asked to define democratic planning, I would say that it should imply (1) that the Plan is in the interest of the people, (2) that the planning bodies are responsible to a political body which is democratically elected, (3) that the democratic mass organisations of the people, the trade unions, factory committees and co-operatives participate in the formulation and execution of the Plan. Sir Stafford Cripps gives a totally different definition. He equates democratic

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planning to planning without compulsion. The capitalists are to be asked voluntarily to agree to a Government plan, even when it is against their interests to do so. Speaking of the export drive, he says: "This is not a matter that is capable of precise regulation by the Government. It must be left to close co-operation between the Government and industry and producers will have to bear in mind the national interest as indicated by the Government's plans, rather than their individual interests in seeking quick profits in easy markets." (Opening Budget Speech). On profits and prices, he says: "Many people have commented upon the fact that I have attempted to get voluntary agreement to the limitation of profits, the stabilisation or decrease in prices and the avoidance of any general increase in wages and salaries. I am not in the least surprised at this criticism of what I regard as a sensible, democratic approach to a very difficult and complex problem." (Budget Speech).

Now one of the arguments in favour of planning used to be that there was a conflict between private interest and the national interest and that therefore the private interests, if allowed to exist at all, must be controlled to the extent that is necessary to compel them to conform to the national interest.

Now Cripps is arguing that this compulsion is not necessary. Evidently the wartime Government should have asked the capitalists not to make too high profits instead of imposing Excess Profits Tax upon them and compelling them to conform to price controls and Ministry of Supply costings.

As is well known, the present price controls allow some profits to even the most inefficient firms and super-profits to the most efficient, so Cripps asks the latter to reduce prices somewhat.

"I hope in particular for price reductions from those efficient manufacturers and distributors who are able to produce and distribute at prices below the statutory ceiling prices". (Budget Speech). It is pretty certain that all that can be got by this method is some token reductions accompanied by a little advertisement. The great majority of firms will wait and see whether the Government will resort to measures of compulsion. The voluntary renunciation of profits by the capitalist class (which has nothing to do with genuine democracy or genuine planning) simply will not work.

Another way of forcing down prices would be to cut down indirect taxation which keeps prices up. Out of the £7,421 million of personal consumption in 1947 indirect taxes (minus subsidies) accounted for £1,260 million or almost 17 per cent. of the total expenditure. Here was a chance for Sir Stafford, if he wanted to lower prices.

In point of fact he increased prices by taking a net £24 million off the purchase tax, £4½ million off entertainments, and clapping £65 million on to tobacco and drink.

In doing so, Sir Stafford continued Mr. Dalton's bad policy of increasing the proportion of indirect to direct taxation. In 1940-41,

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the first year of the wartime Coalition Government, indirect taxation was 65 per cent. of direct. By the Coalition's last year it had fallen to 54 per cent. In 1948 it is estimated to rise to 81 per cent. So Sir Stafford not only refused to bring down prices, he actually increased them and added to indirect taxation which he said recently " weighs most onerously on the lower income groups." (Speech in Commons, February 12th).

In 1947 the capitalist class netted £290 million extra profit and interest. Income Tax (which is paid by many people outside the capitalist class proper), plus that portion of the new Special Defence Contribution which will be collected this year, will fetch in £117 million extra in 1948, so that the capitalists keep most of their extra profits.

Those Right Wing trade union leaders who support the Government's wage freezing policy are more than embarrassed by Sir Stafford's refusal to reduce prices and profits. Sir George Chester at the recent conference of trade union executives said: " The General Council would take speedy and positive action after the Budget, if they were not satisfied with the measures of restraint to be applied to profits and prices." (*Labour,* April).

Mr. Vincent Tewson, General Secretary of the Trade Union Congress, at the same conference: " prophesied that if the policy they proposed were followed, reinforced by such decisions on prices as the Co-operative Movement and other responsible bodies had taken, there would be in a relatively short time a reduction in the cost of living." (*Labour,* April, 1948).

Clearly if there was any pledge on the part of the Government, it has not been kept and the trade union movement need not keep its pledge either.

In any case, the suggestion by the T.U.C. leaders that the real aim of the Government is to increase real wages by bringing down profits and prices, is the most monstrous nonsense. If real wages can be increased by keeping wages at their present level while reducing prices and profits, why cannot money wages be increased without increasing prices? It is after all the same thing. Yet trade union leaders have committed themselves to the absurd argument that it is perfectly possible to reduce prices at the expense of profits, and yet it is absolutely impossible to increase wages at the expense of profits.

The direct taxation reliefs are long overdue, but they are more than offset by the increased taxes on tobacco and drink. Even the quite moderate smoker and drinker will find his reliefs more than absorbed by these taxes. It should not be overlooked that next July all workers will be paying increased contributions under the new National Insurance Act so in any case the free spendable income at the disposal of the workers will go down.

Nothing helps the Labour Government like the habit of the popular press in making a molehill look like the Himalayas and the Alps placed on top of each other. Sir Stafford Cripps in effect drops

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down the drain both the capital levy and the annual capital tax long advocated by the Labour Party. The capitalists are assured that while large scale capital levies have been imposed, even by bourgeois governments in foreign countries, the Labour Government would never dream of doing such a thing in Britain. In order to make this headlong retreat palatable to the Labour Party a tiny token levy is imposed on the 125,000 largest capitalists in the country which will yield (for one year only) £105 million, or less than the yield of 9d in the £1 income tax. The popular press immediately proceeds to treat this as large scale expropriation. The millionaires it is suggested are being taxed 28/- in the £. Alas, the *Financial Times,* whose clientele are amongst those affected and who therefore desire the facts as well as the propaganda of the situation, published a table which shows that the levy amounts to £625, or 1 per cent. out of a capital of £62,500, £4,125 or 1.65 per cent. out of a capital of £250,000 and £24,125 or 1.93 per cent. out of a capital of £1,250,000.

The millionaires will still be able to pay these amounts and face up to the new tobacco tax as well.

To assent to wage freezing after this Budget is to accept quite openly the degradation of the workers' standard of life and even the T.U.C. Crisis Committee demurs. Clearly the fight must go on for the reduction of the bloated military expenditure, the rejection of wage freezing, for the all-round improvement of price controls and the compulsory reduction of prices and for the mobilisation of the British people on the basis of a real Central Economic Plan.

GREEN LIGHT FOR WAR— NINE YEARS AGO

By QUAESTOR

IN February, 1948, the American State Department tried to blacken the reputation of the U.S.S.R. by publishing a number of captured Nazi documents on German-Soviet relations covering the period from 1939 to 1941. It was subsequently made known that the U.S. authorities did so after the British Government had rejected a Soviet proposal (in the summer of 1945) for a joint Anglo-American-Soviet examination and publication of *all* captured documents: and after the Americans had withdrawn a scheme for equal access by all States in U.N.O. to such documents, which they themselves made to the Allied Control Council in Germany on September 6, 1945. Thus the purpose of publishing what even *The Times* called " a highly specialised selection " of documents which ought " to be treated with some care " (Feb. 24, 1948) is only too obvious.

This method, however, is not a new one for American masters of the art of frame-ups, in their dealings with Russia. In 1919 it was

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they who launched the notoriously forged Sisson documents, intended to " prove " that Lenin was a German agent. Old habits die hard. Probably it is because of the ugly light these methods throw on those who use them that, in spite of the joyful haste with which the millionaire press swooped on such a find, the documents were not put on sale in London: just as the Foreign Office has never published its oft-promised Blue Book on the 1939 negotiations.

The Soviet Government had not intended to use similar documents which it had captured, and which bore on relations between the Nazis and the American, British and French Governments. This was because, as stated in a communiqué (Feb. 10, 1948), the documents were " concocted by Hitlerite diplomatic officials in the depths of German diplomatic offices " and were " one-sided and tendentious, giving an account of events from the point of view of the Hitler Government, and intended to present these events in a light that would be favourable for the Hitlerites."

But there are limits to endurance. The Soviet Union has been rewarded for laying down ten times more lives, and suffering infinitely greater loss of property, than Britain and the U.S.A. did in the war, by a policy of treacherous attacks on its rights in Germany, and of rebuilding the pre-1939 Fascist movement in Europe, headed by West German monopoly capitalism and militarism. It has hit back, among other ways, by publishing a booklet* which not only replies to the slanders contained in—or inspired by—the American publication, but also prints in its turn some revealing documents on British policy in the years before 1939, when Hitler's power was being built up, as well as during the war.

These documents can be usefully considered in conjunction with the remarkable new work by Professor L. B. Namier on the negotiations between the Great Powers after Munich in 1938-39.† Professor Namier devotes more space to German-Polish relations than to those between Britain, France and the U.S.S.R., and his references to the pre-history of the 1939 negotiations between the latter Powers are very slight indeed. On the other hand, his survey of the negotiations themselves is a terrible indictment of Anglo-French policy, fully confirming what was written in 1939 by D. N. Pritt, K.C., in his " Light on Moscow", and in 1940 by Professor A. B. Keith in " The Causes of the War". Professor Keith's book, written by a staunch Tory and Imperial historian, suffered an unexpected fate, being completely hushed up. Professor Namier's book is rather more difficult to kill by silence, for various reasons, but the frigid tones of the reviews in most capitalist newspapers speak for themselves.

What emerges from the story he tells?

On March 15, 1939, after openly concentrating troops all round Czechoslovakia, Hitler invaded the country and occupied Prague.

*" Falsifiers of History " (*Soviet News*, 1948) 6d.
†" Diplomatic Prelude, 1938-9 " (Macmillan, 1948). 18/-.

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Chamberlain had brazenly assured lobby correspondents on March 9 (in defiance of British and French intelligence reports) that peace prospects were better than ever. On March 15, in Parliament, he actually used the pretext of the German-inspired revolt in Slovakia to announce that Britain's guarantee to Czechoslovakia was no longer binding, and declared he would not associate himself with "charges of breach of faith bandied about" against Hitler. When even Tory M.P.s began to attack him, Chamberlain grudgingly announced at Birmingham, on March 17, that there was a threat of world domination, and that Britain would turn to her partners in the British Empire and to France, while "others too, knowing that we are not disinterested in what goes on in South Eastern Europe, will wish to have our counsel and advice".

This remark was universally interpreted as a hint of consultation with the U.S.S.R., whom Chamberlain's Government had insulted and intrigued against in every possible way during the previous six years of Hitler's rise to power in Europe (the story has been well told in Vigilante "Inquest on Peace", Dutt's "World Politics, 1918-1936", Schuman's "Europe on the Eve" and the work by Professor Keith already mentioned). In reality, this consultation was a fraud. On March 18 the Soviet Government was asked what it would do if Rumania were attacked next: on March 19 it advised a six-power conference at Bucharest (of the States most directly concerned) to discuss the situation. The British Government dismissed this suggestion as "premature": instead, it proposed on March 21 an Anglo-Franco-Polish-Soviet declaration that they would "consult together", to discuss joint resistance, if any further attack on a European country were made—a step which would frighten nobody, least of all Hitler. When the Soviet Government accepted, the whole idea was promptly shelved! The British press—regularly "inspired", at this time, by both Chamberlain and the Foreign Office—made the reason quite clear: that "at this stage Soviet Russia is not being sought as a partner in the contemplated alliance".

As a result, Hitler seized Memel (March 23), imposed on the same day a far-reaching economic treaty on Rumania (Professor Namier does not mention this) and demanded that Poland should return Danzig to Germany (March 21 and 26).

This, however, did not suffice to overcome Chamberlain's loathing of the U.S.S.R. On March 30 he got the Cabinet to give a unilateral guarantee to Poland—published next day, and followed by an Anglo-Polish pledge of mutual assistance (April 6). Each of these steps was taken without the least consultation with the U.S.S.R.—although Halifax showed the text of the guarantee to Maisky, two hours before it was published, and had the impudence to ask him to authorise Chamberlain to say that "the Russian Government would associate itself with the guarantee of Britain and France": Maisky of course refused. The press had been instructed during the previous week, however, to spread the lie that there was close contact with

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the U.S.S.R.: now Chamberlain tried to insinuate the same story, by declaring that doubtless the "principles" on which Britain was acting "are fully understood and appreciated" by the U.S.S.R.

They were also well understood by the Axis. While Chamberlain went on holiday next day (April 7), Italy invaded Albania.

Chamberlain's reply once again was to give unilateral guarantees —this time to Greece and Rumania (April 12)—and once again when pressed about relations with the U.S.S.R. to tell Parliament that he was "keeping in the closest touch with the representatives of that country". In reality, all that had happened was that Maisky had been informed a few hours before the announcement was made. When Sir John Simon, winding up the debate, was asked about a triple pact of mutual assistance between Britain, France and the Soviet Union, he said that "the Government is raising no objection in principle to any such proposition".

In reality, when at last the Soviet Government *was* approached on April 15, it was with a very different scheme—that it should declare it would go to the help of any of its European neighbours which desired such aid, if subject to aggression. This meant that (i) Rumania and Poland would now have a Soviet guarantee as well—without a corresponding obligation on their part; (ii) Britain's hands would be completely free not to help the U.S.S.R., if Rumania and Poland failed to oppose a German offensive through their territory; (iii) Britain also would have her hands free if Hitler chose to attack through Russia's other neighbours—the Baltic States. To this ridiculous proposal the Soviet Government replied with a clear and unmistakable counter-offer—a triple pact of mutual assistance against aggression: a similar joint pledge to *all* the countries of Eastern Europe, without exception: and military staff talks immediately between Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.

To this proposition the Soviet Government—despite Simon's assurance mentioned above—*received no reply whatsoever for three weeks.* It is important to bear this in mind. Prof. Namier, unfortunately, merely publishes without comment deliberately misleading reports in *The Times* and other newspapers during this period about "a string of proposals and counter-proposals", and Chamberlain's statement in Parliament on May 2 that "we are carrying on discussions". In reality, the only discussions going on were with the French Government—and they were only about rival formulas for masking *rejection* of the Soviet offer. Professor Namier, however, does reproduce an important despatch from the Polish Ambassador in London (April 26, 1939) describing his conversation with Sir Alexander Cadogan, Permanent Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs:

> "Undoubtedly England wishes for Russia's participation, but does not want a formal or close connexion . . . the Russian counter-proposals aiming at a political treaty of reciprocal aid . . . were, according to Cadogan, unacceptable to Great Britain and not desired by France . . . At the same time he underlined the difficulties facing the British Government, as they do not want to cause irritation through a negative reply."

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What was the reason for this unwillingness? The answer was given by the sudden return to Berlin on April 24 of the British Ambassador, who had been recalled on March 18, after Hitler's entry into Prague. Chamberlain declared that he had " no suggestions or proposals to convey ": but it turns out that, just as in 1938 over Czechoslovakia, the Ambassador was to urge Hitler to " solve " all problems by negotiation, without risking war, and that he was to assure Hitler that the British Government " did not mean to let themselves be drawn into aggression by others". In plain language, the negotiations with the U.S.S.R. were only a means to induce Hitler if possible to do everything quietly—not seriously intended to stop him.

As an inducement to Hitler to be reasonable, the royalties payable to Czechoslovakia for use of the Bren gun patent had been paid over to the Nazis in April; in May they were followed by £6 millions worth of Czechoslovak gold, transferred to Germany through the Bank of International Settlements.

Hitler's response to these manœuvres was characteristic. He denounced the naval pact between Britain and Germany, limiting the latter's warship construction, and the Polish-German treaty of friendship of 1934 (April 28). On the same day he announced publicly his demand for Danzig (which at that time was a Free State, separated from Germany since 1919). And on May 22 he signed a German-Italian treaty of alliance—the " Pact of Steel".

By this time it had become known that the British Government had *twice* rejected the Soviet proposals for a triple pact—once on May 8, and again on May 17 after a public Soviet announcement and a further Soviet Note. As a result, there was a strong attack on the Government in Parliament on May 19, by Lloyd George, Churchill and other M.P.s. This led, on May 27, to a grudging consent at last to *discuss* the triple pact which the Soviet Union had offered six weeks before. But even now the Soviet Union was faced with a farcical suggestion. It was to be ready to go to war with Germany if the latter attacked any of the five countries guaranteed by Britain and France, namely, Poland, Rumania, Greece, Turkey or Belgium. But it had no promise of assistance if Germany attacked the Baltic States. Moreover—unlike the provisions of the Anglo-Polish agreement—mutual help was subject to approval by the League of Nations, which meant that it could be held up for weeks; and there were to be no immediate staff talks—only future " consultations".

The differences were made public by Molotov in his foreign policy report to the Supreme Soviet on May 31. But matters did not improve. From June 2, when the Soviet reply was presented—insisting on the full original proposals of April 15 (with Belgium added as a guaranteed State)—until July 31, when Chamberlain announced in Parliament that British and French military missions were going to Moscow for staff talks, negotiations were dragged out by delaying tactics on the part of the British and French Governments. As

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Zhdanov pointed out in a *Pravda* article on June 29, out of 75 days of negotiation, the Soviet side had taken 16 to consider suggestions, and the Anglo-French side 59. Only on July 1 did the British and French Governments agree to include all the Eastern States in the guarantee: but in return they had by that time brought in the question of guaranteeing Holland and Switzerland—which were so hostile to the U.S.S.R. that they refused even to have ordinary diplomatic relations with it! Only a week later was this demand dropped—after the Dutch government had protested.

But by now yet another "difficulty" had been invented. The Soviet Government had asked on July 3 for the guarantee of smaller States to operate in cases of "direct or indirect" aggression, and had defined indirect aggression as "an internal coup d'état or a political change favourable to the aggressor". On this, Professor Namier writes:

> "Remembering the way in which the Germans had destroyed Austria and Czechoslovakia from within (and perhaps also Chamberlain's original reaction to such 'internal disruption'), the Russians were justified in wishing to name it as a form of aggression against which provision should be made under the Treaty."

In fact, however, a final agreement on this matter had certainly not been reached by July 25, when the Western Powers agreed—after some weeks of opposition—to open staff talks in Moscow, so that the military convention and political treaty could be signed simultaneously.

During all this procrastination—since, in the long run, the proposals made by the Soviet Government on April 17 were only approaching acceptance three months later—very significant events had been taking place in other fields. On June 8, Lord Halifax, speaking in the Lords, offered Germany consideration of her claim to "Lebensraum", and denounced the idea of Europe's "division into potentially hostile groups". On the same day a close friend of Chamberlain's, Sir Francis Lindley (then recently retired from the post of Ambassador to China), told the Conservative M.P.s Foreign Affairs Committee that "British prestige would suffer less if negotiations with Russia failed than if they succeeded". The following day Mr. Oliver Stanley, President of the Board of Trade, promised renewal of an agreement between the British and Nazi industrialists (reached at Dusseldorf on March 15, and temporarily suspended) when "restoration of confidence" was achieved. At the same time Mr. Bevin, already famous for his diplomatic aspirations, told the Labour Party Conference at Southport that we should "pool the great resources of the world" and offer Germany, Italy and Japan a "place in the sun". On June 8 Chamberlain made known that, instead of sending Halifax to Moscow (as he had been sent to Hitler in November, 1937), or going himself (as he had gone to Hitler in September, 1938), he was sending a junior Foreign official to "reach final agreement". On June 29 Halifax made a speech at Chatham

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House offering far-reaching concessions to Germany—if only she would accept peaceful solutions: "We could examine the colonial problem, the question of raw materials, trade barriers, the issue of *Lebensraum*, the limitation of armaments and any other issue that affects the lives of all European citizens."

(To be continued)

100 Years Ago

THE NEW RHENISH GAZETTE

During the whole of May, 1848, preparations went forward for the new daily paper. On May 3, Marx learned that Heinrich Heine would be ready to collaborate. From 6th to the 8th Marx was in Elberfeld on propaganda for the paper; and with Engels in Barmen, where Engels was charged with the formation of a branch of the Communist League. Back in Cologne Marx on May 11th took part in a stormy session of the local Communist League; and by the middle of the month was making arrangements for the circulation of the paper in Brussels.

Both before and after Engels rejoined him (on May 21st) Marx was receiving reports from League emissaries (Wolff from Breslau, Schapper from Mainz and Wiesbaden, Dronke from Coblenz, Frankfurt and Nassau) about the position of the League branches. As Engels recalled it in 1885, "As could be easily foreseen, the League proved to be much too weak a lever in face of the popular mass movement that had now broken out". In League discussions a few days after these reports Marx and Engels held that "the conditions in each separate small state, each province and town were so different that the League would have been incapable of giving more than the most general directives; such directives were, however, much better distributed through the press." The press, i.e. "Neue Rheinische Zeitung", was henceforth available.

STATEMENT OF THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE OF THE *NEUE RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG*, No. 1, JUNE 1, 1848.

It was originally fixed that the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* should begin publication on July 1st. The arrangements with correspondents, etc., were made for this date.

Since, however, the renewed insolence of the reaction brings closer the prospect of German "September" laws, we have desired to take advantage of every day of freedom and begin publication already on June 1st. Our readers will, therefore, have to bear with us if we are not able to provide in the first days the abundant material in the form of news and correspondence that our extensive connections make possible. In a few days we shall be able to satisfy all demands in this respect as well.

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MARX'S LETTER TO THE EDITORIAL BOARD OF *L'ALBA*

To the Director of the newspaper, *L'Alba* (Dawn).

SIR,

As from June 1 next, there will be published in this town of Cologne a new daily newspaper, " The New Rhenish Gazette " (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*) by name, under the editorship of Dr. Karl Marx. This paper will follow in these latitudes the same democratic principles which *L'Alba* represents in Italy. There can therefore be no doubt about the position which we shall take on the questions now pending between Italy and Austria. We shall defend the cause of Italian independence, we shall fight to the death Austrian despotism in Italy as in Germany and Poland. We extend a fraternal hand to the Italian people and want to prove to them that the German nation rejects every part of the oppression forced upon you too by those very men who in our country have always combated freedom. We shall do our utmost to promote the union of, and good understanding between, two great and free nations which have, until now, been led to believe by a nefarious system of government that they were each other's enemy. We shall therefore demand the immediate withdrawal from Italy of the brutal Austrian soldiery. We shall demand that the Italian people be placed in a position to express its sovereign will in the question of the form of government which it wants to choose.

In order to enable us to get acquainted with Italian affairs, and in order to give you the opportunity of judging the sincerity of our promises, we suggest an exchange of papers. Thus we shall send you the *New Rhenish Gazette* and you will send us *L'Alba* regularly every day. We flatter ourselves that you will accept this proposal and urge that you start sending us *L'Alba* as soon as possible so as to enable us to utilise it for our first issues.

Should you wish to communicate with us on any other topic, we invite you to do so, and give you our assurance that we shall devote all our care and attention to all that will further the cause of democracy in one or the other of our countries.

For the management of the *New Rhenish Gazette*,

DR. KARL MARX, Editor.

The Editor of LABOUR MONTHLY *will be very glad to receive contributions in the form of finished articles or of suggestions and data for articles. The customary proviso must be made that no responsibility is undertaken for manuscripts sent to him nor can he promise to enter into any correspondence regarding contributions not accepted.*

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Book Reviews

Historiography and Marxism

History, by V. Gordon Childe (Cobbett Press, 1947, 7*s* 6*d*, pp. 86).

THIS is a small book, but a very important one. Its author stands in the front rank of contemporary archæologists, and in it his development as a creative thinker is carried forward to a decisive stage. If it is compared with his earlier writings, which extend back over a quarter of a century, it enables us to follow step by step his advance from bourgeois empiricism through economic materialism to Marxism.

Man's control over nature has been achieved through knowledge of nature—through the natural sciences, in which, especially in the last three hundred years, he has made gigantic strides. In the historical sciences he has moved more slowly. It is only in the last century that he has begun to work out a science of society. A science of society must be founded on a study of the development of the mode of production; for it is the use of tools—production—that distinguishes man from the animals. The history of technical inventions is not a series of happy accidents. Watt's steam-engine was a work of genius, but it presupposed the valve, the pump-barrel, the kettle, and other instruments embodying the accumulated experience of mankind from the moment of his emergence from the animals; and even so it could not have been put to effective use unless there had been a demand for it. The development of the mode of production had reached a stage at which its invention was both possible and necessary. Every invention is a social and historical product belonging to an orderly sequence of historical events.

The invention of writing, without which there can be no historical records, coincided with the emergence of class society, and down to quite recent times its use has been confined to the ruling class. For this reason the writing of history—the selection of events to be recorded, and their interpretation—has reflected the outlook of that class. So, having surveyed the history of technique, Childe goes on to survey the history of historiography.

The ancient Egyptian and Babylonian annals, imbued as they are with the idea that the world is God-made and God-governed, reflect the structure of the societies that produced them, based on the theocratic monarchy. Only in democratic Greece does the historiographical tradition emerge for a generation or two into the light of science; and then, in the decline of ancient society, the scientific approach disappears in clouds of rhetoric. All this Childe shows clearly, but he says nothing about pre-class society and consequently is unable to appreciate the historical importance of primitive mythology.

The ancient "theological" conception of history survives, little altered, in the Great Man theory of Carlyle and Oman: "The history of what man has accomplished in this world is the history of the great men who have worked there". Arguing very effectively that the great man's place in history is just like the inventor's, Childe writes:

> "Men have lived, and do live, greatly, and it is one of history's functions to preserve this greatness and keep these personalities alive. But that will not be done by presenting them as jack-in-the-boxes who emerge miraculously from the unknown to interrupt the real continuity of history. On the contrary, a great man 'comes to life' only in so far as the historical and social circumstances that moulded his character are also revived."

That could not have been said better.

The author then proceeds to examine the various "naturalistic" theories of history. First, the geometrical (or astronomical) theory—the theory of cycles. This breaks down as soon as it is extended to the history of science, which cannot be represented as anything but a cumulative process. Secondly, the geographical theory, which is incapable of

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explaining historical change. And thirdly, the anthropological theory—the theory of racial superiority, which is incompatible with modern genetics. The author has some penetrating comments on Spengler and Toynbee. Of the latter he remarks that "to legitimise his comparative method and make his inferences plausible he has to ignore just those human activities that in history are unambiguously cumulative and revolutionary".

It is a weakness in this part of the book that there is no attempt to deal with the contradictions inherent in the growth of capitalist society, which would have enabled him to explain why it is that bourgeois historians have been unable to tear themselves away from these unscientific theories of history. But he exposes their unscientific character very effectively, thanks to his insistence on the fundamental importance of the mode of production. And this brings him to Marxism. "Marx and Engels", he writes, "were the first to remark that this technological development is the foundation for the whole of history, conditioning and limiting all other human activities". Having said this, he does not fall into the vulgar error of equating Marxism with economic determinism, but, on the contrary, quotes Stalin to explain "the tremendous organising, mobilising and transforming value of new ideas", and he concludes:

> "One great statesman of today has successfully foreseen the course of world history, and him we have just quoted as an exponent of Marxist historiography."

GEORGE THOMSON.

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Building—A Trade Forlorn

Cornerstone, A Study of Britain's Building Industry, by David Hall (Lawrence & Wishart, 7*s* 6*d*, in collaboration with Labour Research Dept.).

The Building Industry, A Criticism and Plan for the Future, by Harry Barham (Industrial Democracy series No. 1, St. Botolph Publishing Co., 5/-).

THE cuts in Capital Expenditure as they affect building today will not create the best atmosphere in which to launch a serious study of the problems of the Building Industry and its fitness for its task. Nevertheless, Mr. Hall's *Cornerstone* is extremely timely.

His analysis of the structure of the Industry, the growing extent of Monopoly reaching far into the materials production side, the appalling waste in man-power, both operative and technical, is penetrating and devastating. The wealth of scientific knowledge already existing in building as a result of the Ministry of Works researches is being shamefully neglected by those who draw profits from the Industry. It is still apparently more profitable to wring increased production from more

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intense labours than from technical advance.

All who are interested in Building, and its products, will find this book a mine of information. No technical knowledge is required to follow the arguments put forward to show the need for closer and more effective controls, improvement of efficiency, and the vital part building must play in the rebuilding of our Industry and the housing of our people and education of our children. Mr. Barham's book, "The Building Industry", is also a useful contribution to the knowledge on the subject. As in Mr. Hall's book, his language and style present no difficulty to the thoughtful layman. However, he is less easy to follow, or to agree with when he comes to his proposals for re-organising the Industry. It is difficult to see how the encouragement of the small builder, even to the length of financing him by the State, can add to the efficiency of the Industry. One of the most useful sections of Mr. Barham's book is that dealing with the method of "Tendering". Here he treads firm ground, and his proposals urging the fixing of prices for contracts by bodies other than contractors have much to commend them.

JACK RYAN.

"Ineffectual Angel"? No

Shelley's Socialism, by Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling (Leslie Preger, Manchester, 4*s* 6*d*).

THE two lectures here made generally available for the first time, which are in part the work of Marx's brilliant and unfortunate daughter Eleanor, have a particular interest in this centenary year of the *Communist Manifesto* and of the last revival of Chartism. It was from her father that Eleanor learned to admire the poetry of Shelley, whom Marx regarded as "essentially a revolutionist", and as one who "would always have been one of the advanced guard of Socialism". In a letter she once referred to Shelley's "enormous influence" on the Chartist movement, adding, "I have heard my father and Engels again and again speak of this, and I have heard the same from the many Chartists it has been my good fortune to know . . . Engels said, 'Oh, we all knew Shelley by heart then.'"

The purpose of these lectures, which were delivered in 1888, apparently to the Shelley Society, was twofold. On the one hand they served a propagandist purpose, by posing to their middle-class audience the question, how could they consistently claim to admire Shelley while rejecting the social conceptions at the very foundation of his thought? On the other, they were intended to destroy the legend, sedulously fostered in the Victorian age, of Shelley as an "ineffectual angel". Their publication today also affords a valuable corrective from the Marxist standpoint of some of the references to Shelley in Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality*.

C. H. HOBDAY.

The Jewish Problem

The Emergence of the Jewish Problem 1878/1939 by Dr. James Parkes (Oxford University Press, 15*s*).

DR. PARKES is well known for his research work on the Jews in the Middle Ages and on anti-Semitic Movements.

He shows how, since the Berlin Conference in 1878, anti-Semitism served an extremely useful purpose

Trade Unions
and
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ARTHUR HORNER
THREEPENCE
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for reactionary Governments against the growing militancy of the working class and all progressive movements.

The book covers the Jewish problem before the First World War, particularly in Tsarist Russia, then it goes over to a detailed discussion on Palestine since the Balfour Declaration given by the Lloyd George Government to the Zionists in gross contradiction of a previous promise made to the Arabs, and including Palestine as part of an independent Arab world.

When Dr. Parkes wrote his book the United Nations had not yet passed the decision to form a Jewish and Arab State in Palestine. But at the time he published the book Dr. Parkes argued that Britain must hold on to Palestine to maintain law and order. Thus indirectly he appears as an apologist for continued British rule in Palestine.

Though the British Government is pledged to withdraw from Palestine, there are strong reasons to assume that British Imperialist agents are helping to foment racial strife between the two communities, and under new circumstances to prolong its hold on Palestine.

Great credit goes to Dr. Parkes for his honest and serious attempt to understand how the Jewish problem has been solved in the Soviet Union. It is rare amongst English bourgeois historians to find an unbiased approach to this problem, or such an objective survey of the achievements of the Jews in the Soviet Union in all spheres of life, economic, political and social.

Many people in, and outside, the Labour Movement would find this chapter extremely helpful. In short, the book should be read by every independent reader who is interested in the Jewish problem in modern times.

C. A.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

BOOKS

The Trial of the German Major War Criminals. Part 12. H.M.S.O. 7s. 6d. 444 pp.
The Trial of the German Major War Criminals. Part 13. H.M.S.O. 6s. 6d. 372 pp.
Comes the Reckoning. R. H. Bruce-Lockhart, M.P. Putnam & Co., Ltd. 18s. 374 pp.
History of the Homeland. Henry Hamilton. Allen & Unwin. 18s. 597 pp.
Czechoslovakia. Orbis, Prague. 35 pp.
Let Cowards Flinch. Sagittarius. Turnstile Press. 6s. 39 pp.
Europe's Population in the Inter-War Years. Dudley Kirk. League of Nations. 15s. 303 pp.
London Children in Wartime Oxford. Barnett House Study Group, O.U.P. (Geoffrey Cumberlege). 6s. 113 pp
On Art and Socialism. William Morris. John Lehmann, Ltd. 8s. 6d. 335 pp.
When Smuts Goes. Arthur Keppel-Jones. Collanz, Ltd. 7s. 6d. 232 pp.
Trial of the German Major War Criminals. Part 14. H.M.S.O. 7s. 408 pp.
Lawless Youth. Howard League International Committee. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d. 243 pp.

BOOKLETS

Palestine—Divided or United. Ihad (Union) Association. Palestine. 3s. 104 pp.
The Two-Year Economic Plan. Min. of Information. Bulgaria. 92 pp.
Die Deutsch-russichen Handelsbeziehungen. Jurgen Kuczynski. Verlag Die Wirtschaft GMBH Grete Wittkowski. 125 pp.
This is America. Derek Kartun. Thames Publications. 2s. 6d. 89 pp.
The Life-Work of J. A. Hobson. H. N. Brailsford. O.U.P. (Cumberlege). 2s. 29 pp.
Culture in a Changing World. V. J. Jerome. New Century Publishers. N.Y. 35c. 94 pp.
The General Workers Professional Union in Bulgaria. Min. of Information and Arts. Bulgaria. 64 pp.

PAMPHLETS

The Vatican and the Post-War World. Stanley Evans. Religion of the People (Rev. E. Charles). 6d. 14 pp.
Women and the Family in the New Yugoslavia. British-Yugoslav Association. 6d. 15 pp.
Canada's Path to Peace and Security. Tim Buck. Labor-Progressive Party, Canada. 15c. 32 pp.
First Annual Report 1945 and 1946 U.N.A. United Nations Association. 57 pp.
Salaries and Conditions of Work of Social Workers. The National Council of Social Service. 2s. 6d. 85 pp.
Reflections on Leisure. Sir Ernest Baker. National Council of Social Service. 1s. 6d. 20 pp.
Vyshinsky. Speech at the U.N.O. General Assembly. 3d. 27 pp.
Oxford—A Future for Our University. University Branch Oxford C.P. 1s. 35 pp.
Trade Unions in the New Democracy. British-Polish Society. 2d. 11 pp.
Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Soviet News. London, 1947. 3d. 30 pp.

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